

SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION

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27 SEP 70 CITE SANTIAGO

IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

SECTION 1 OF 3

FOR UNDERSEC JOHNSON AND HENRY KISSINGER (EYES ONLY)
FROM AMB KORRY

1. MINDEFENSE OSSA INFORMED ME LAST NIGHT OF HIS AND FREI'S ACTIONS TO INFORM THE MILITARY OF THE TRUE SITUATION IN CHILE AND OF THEIR CONCLUSION THAT UNLESS THERE IS A CONTINUING WORSENING OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION THE ELECTION OF ALLENDE IS CERTAIN.

2. OSSA REPORTED THAT TALK BETWEEN FREI AND SCHNEIDER. AFTER EXPLAINING WHY THE COUNTRY WOULD INEVITABLY BE COMMUNIST, WHY THE PDC COULD NOT BE MUSTERED INTO OPPOSITION, WHY THE ARMED FORCES WOULD LOSE THEIR U.S. MILITARY CONNECTIONS, WHY CHILE'S NEIGHBORS WOULD SEEK TO ADVANTAGE THEMSELVES FROM THE WEAKENED DEFENSE POSTURE, AND WHY CHILE'S FINANCES AND BUSINESS ARE SO AFFECTED, FREI NOTED THAT SCHNEIDER HAD FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT THE CONSTITUTIONALIST DOCTRINE THAT FREI AND OSSA HAD REQUESTED HIM TO FOLLOW. IN RESPONSE TO SCHNEIDER'S QUESTIONS, FREI SAID HE WOULD NOT ASK SCHNEIDER TO CHANGE THAT DOCTRINE BECAUSE EVEN

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THOUGH HE BELIEVED THE MILITARY COULD BLOCK ALLENDE, HE WOULD NOT REQUEST IT SINCE IT WOULD BE A FORM OF COWARDICE ON HIS PART. HE COULD NOT ASK THE MILITARY TO DO WHAT HE HIMSELF WOULD NOT DO. HE COULD NOT ASK THE MILITARY TO DO HIS WORK FOR HIM.

3. OSSA SAID THAT GENERAL PRATTS LATER REPORTED SCHNEIDER HAD REPEATED VERY FAITHFULLY THE FREI CONVERSATION TO A JUNTA OF GENERALS. SCHNEIDER WAS ALSO MEETING YESTERDAY WITH THE SERVICE CHIEFS OF THE ARMY AND AIR FORCE. OSSA SAID THAT THE HEAD OF THE CARABINEROS, GEN. HUERTA, UPON LEARNING OF THESE CONVERSATIONS HAD REQUESTED THRU OSSA AN IMMEDIATE MEETING WITH FREI AND IT WAS BEING ARRANGED.

4. OSSA SAID _____ HE HAD ALSO MET SEPARATELY WITH NAVY CINC ADMIRAL PORTA, AIR FORCE CINC GUERRAATY AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF GEN. PRATTS. TO EACH HE HAD EXPLAINED WHY THERE WAS NO HOPE OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION, WHY THE MILITARY WAS THE LAST RESORT

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AND WHY THEY WOULD NOT GET SO MUCH AS A NUT OR BOLT FROM THE U.S. OR HAVE ANY OTHER MIL CONNECTIONS WITH THE U.S. OSSA HAD TOLD THEM HE WAS AUTHORIZED BY ME TO STATE THIS LAST POINT, EXPLAINING THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT TAKING ANY ACTION AGAINST CHILE PER SE BUT THAT THE LAWS OF THE U.S. HAD UNIVERSAL APPLICATION IN CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES. THE ALLENDE PROGRAM, IF IMPLEMENTED, AS OSSA TOLD THEM HE THOUGHT WAS CERTAIN, WOULD SIGNIFY THE APPLICATION OF THOSE LAWS.

5. OSSA SAID THAT GUERRATY HAD NOT EVEN QUESTIONED THIS ANALYSIS SINCE, AS HE SAID, HE HAD BEEN CONVINCED OF IT FROM THE START. HOWEVER, PARTIA WAS THUNDER-STRUCK BY THE CITATION OF MY NAME BEHIND THE "NOT EVEN A NUT OR BOLT" JUDGMENT. WHEN HE REMONSTRATED, OSSA TOLD HIM IT WAS ONLY LOGICAL SINCE THE U.S. WAS NOT INTERVENING IN THE CURRENT CRISIS AND HAD NOT INTERVENED IN THE ELECTIONS TO PROTECT ITSELF FROM ITS CERTAIN ENEMIES.

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6. [REDACTED] THE HEAD OF CHILEAN MARINES INFORMED HIM TODAY THAT PORTA WENT TO SEE ALLENDE [REDACTED] TO SAY HE WAS EXTREMELY CONCERNED BY THE VULNERABILITY OF THE CHILEAN NAVY TO THE U.S. CUTOFF AND THAT HE WANTED ASSURANCES THAT ALLENDE WOULD NOT CARRY OUT POLICIES THAT WOULD PROVOKE SUCH A REACTION. ALLENDE REPORTEDLY DUCKED ANSWER AND MERELY SOUGHT TO PLACATE PORTA BY TELLING HIM HIS GOVT WOULD MAINTAIN THE HIGH LEVELS OF MILITARY ARMS AND PROFESSIONALISM. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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7. OSSA SAID THAT FREI YESTERDAY EVENING UPON BEING ADVISED OF THE INTERVIEW THAT APPEARED YESTERDAY AFTERNOON IN SOCIALIST ULTIMA HORA (IN WHICH ALESSANDRI QUOTED AS SAYING HE RECOGNIZES ALLENDE) TELEPHONED TO THE OLD MAN. ALESSANDRI CRIED HE HAD BEEN BETRAYED AND THAT HE WAS "TRYING TO GET HOLD OF HER" --AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO THE ANONYMOUS INTERVIEWER. IN ANY EVENT THE INCIDENT GAVE FREI AN OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO KEEP ALESSANDRI IN LINE AND I HAVE TAKEN OTHER MEASURES IN THAT DIRECTION.

8. OSSA SAID FREI HAD ALSO STAGE-MANAGED THE REMOVAL OF PEREZ-ZUJOVIC FROM THE PDC PARLIAMENTARY OPERATION SINCE THE LATTER'S NAME HAD BEEN A RED FLAG TO SO MANY KEY PDCERS, PARTICULARLY DEPUTY AND EX-INTERIOR MINISTER BERNARDO LEIGHTON. FREI HAD BEEN TOLD THAT ALLENDE WOULD GO THROUGH THE MASQUERADE OF "NEGOTIATIONS" WITH THE PDC LEADERSHIP OVER "CONDITIONS" AND THEN ANNOUNCE THEM A FEW DAYS PRIOR

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TO THE MEETING OF THE PDC JUNTA (OCT. 3). OSSA ADDED THAT THE FREI FORCES HAD LOST THE FIGHT TO DELAY THE JUNTA UNTIL OCT. 10TH. ALTHOUGH FREI WAS VERY DISPIRITED, OSSA SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS AIDING OSSA IN HIS EFFORTS TO GAIN AT LEAST 200 OF THE 500 PDC DELEGATES TO THE JUNTA IN AN ANTI-ALLENDE VOTE OCT 24TH.

9. OSSA SAID UNLESS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION WORSENER, THE ARMY SURELY WOULD NOT MOVE; THE JUNTA WOULD NOT RESPOND TO HIS MASSAGING AND THE CONGRESS OCT 24 WOULD BE A CRUSHING DEFEAT FOR FREI'S FORCES. HE URGED THAT I DO WHATEVER I COULD TO HELP CREATE THE PROPER BEARISH CLIMATE. HE ALSO URGED THAT WE CUT OR HOLD IN SUSPENSE UNTIL AFTER THE INAUGURATION ALL COURSES FOR THE CHILEAN MILITARY AND IF POSSIBLE ALL MIL DELIVERIES. I TOLD HIM I HAD BEEN OVER- RULED BY WASHINGTON ON THIS MATTER.

10. LATER THAT EVENING I MET WITH FLAVIAN LEVINE, THE MUCH RESPECTED (UNIVERSALLY IN CHILE AND THE U.S.) HEAD

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OF THE CHILEAN NATIONAL STEEL COMPANY (CAP), THE BIGGEST BY FAR CHILEAN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE, FOR WHICH HE HAS WORKED, INDEED CREATED WITH U.S. PRIVATE AND EXIM SUPPORT, FOR 25 YEARS. LEVINE IS VERY TRUSTWORTHY AND HIS INFORMATION IS INTERESTING. (HE SUPPORTED FREI IN 1964 AND ALESSANDRI WOULD HAVE PROBABLY OFFERED HIM THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE SINCE HE WAS AN ARDENT SUPPORTER AND TRUSTED INTIMATE IN THE CAMPAIGN.)

11. LEVINE HAD SEEN ALLENDE AT THE LATTER'S REQUEST EARLIER IN THE DAY. ALLENDE HAD URGED THAT HE STAY ON AS HEAD OF CAP ADDING THAT HIS JOB WAS ASSURED AS LONG AS HE WISHED. ALLENDE SAID CASTRO HAD GIVEN HIM THREE VERY VALUABLE ADVICES THAT HE WOULD FOLLOW:

- A. PERSUADE THE TECHNICIANS TO STAY IN THE COUNTRY.
- B. KEEP COPPER IN THE DOLLAR ASLES MARKET. DO NOT COUNT ON OTHER AREAS FOR BETTER CONDITIONS.
- C. DO NOT ACT TOO REVOLUTIONARY SINCE YOU ARE A REVOLUTIONARY AND THERE IS NO REASON TO PROVE TOO MUCH

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TO OTHERS WHAT YOU KNOW YOU ARE.

ALLENDE HAD ADDED THAT CASTRO HAD EXPLAINED WHY IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR HIM (FIDEL) NOT TO COME TO ALLENDE'S INAUGURATION BECAUSE OF THE IMPACT IT MIGHT HAVE ABROAD AND HAD ASSURED ALLENDE HE WOULD COME LATER WHEN IT WAS MORE CONVENIENT TO THE CHILEAN.

12. ALLENDE CLEARLY INDICATED HE WAS CONSIDERING VERY SERIOUSLY OFFERING THE POST OF FOREIGN MINISTER IN HIS GOVT TO FELIPE HERRERA, HEAD OF THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK WHO PROMPTLY RECOGNIZED ALLENDE AS PRESIDENT 48 HOURS AFTER THE ELECTION AND WHO WILL BE HERE IN EARLY OCTOBER. LEVINE SAID HE WAS CERTAIN HERRERA WOULD ACCEPT SOME POST IN THE ALLENDE GOVT IF HE WERE NOT VETOED BY COMMUNISTS OR HARD LINE SOCIALISTS.

13. MAX NOLFF, ONE OF THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE POPULAR UNITY ECONOMIC PLANNING COMMITTEE AND SPECIALIST ON MINING, TOLD LEVINE THAT BOTH U.S. IRON AND COPPER WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY NATIONALIZED. HE ASKED LEVINE TO HAVE CAP TAKE

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OVER BETHLEHEM HERE PER THEIR CONTRACT BUT LEVINE EXPLAINED-
TO ME THAT BETHLEHEM'S CONTRACT ONLY PROVIDES FOR THE CAP
BUYOUT IN THE EVENT OF BETHLEHEM'S REQUEST. LEVINE SAID
THAT CAP'S OWN VERY BIG ORE EXPANSION PROGRAM HAD COME TO
A HALT BECAUSE THE JAPANESE HAD IMMEDIATELY CABLED AFTER THE
ELECTIONS TO POSTPONE UNTIL NOVEMBER ANY DECISION ON THEIR
COMMITMENT TO SIGN A TEN YEAR PURCHASE OF ORE CONTRACT AND
THAT WITHOUT SUCH A CONTRACT THE EX-IM COULD NOT FINANCE THE
EXPANSION. JAPS HAD ALSO EXPRESSED DOUBT IF THEY COULD SIGN
WITH ALLENDE. MOREOVER CAP WAS OUT OF CASH, LOSING \$8
MILLIONS PER MONTH AND THAT IT WAS BEING KEPT AFLOAT BY THE
CENTRAL BANK WHICH WOULD GIVE IT 50 MILLION ESCUDOS THIS
MONTH SO AS TO MEET OBLIGATIONS. SALES HAD DROPPED BY 30
PER CENT. U.S. BANKS HAD REDUCED SUPPLIER CREDITS FROM 12
TO 10 MILLIONS. HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MEET HIS MATURITIES
IN THE U.S. IN 90 DAYS IF THE SITUATION CONTINUED. HE ACCEPTED
MY ADVICE NOT TO GO TO THE U.S. (TO EXIM AND OTHERS) NEXT

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EEK BUT TO DELAY AT LEAST ANOTHER WEEK. I PROMISED TO CABLE
XIM.

14. [REDACTED] WHO IS VERY CLOSE FRIEND OF CARLOS
LTIMIRANO QUOTED LATTER AS STATING THIS WEEK
HAT ONCE ALLENDE ELECTED, LEADERS OF MIR WOULD LEAVE FOR
ORK IN OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES.

15. LEVINE SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED THAT DAY A CALL
FROM GABRIEL VALDES ASKING OFFICIALLY TO BE REINSTATED AFTER
THE INAUGURATION AS CAP'S GENERAL COUNSEL. LEVINE EXPLAINED
VALDES HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY ON LEAVE. MOREOVER A YEAR AGO,
E HAD CALLED VALDES TO WARN THAT WITH THE PROSPECTS OF
LESSANDRI'S VICTORY, IF VALDES WISHED TO RETURN TO THE FIRM,
E HAD BETTER MAKE HIS INTENTIONS KNOWN IN WRITING. AT THAT
TIME VALDES SCOFFED AT THE IDEA, STATING IT WOULD BE TOO
MUCH OF A COME-DOWN TO RETURN. YESTERDAY HE TOLD LEVINE
THAT [REDACTED] HAD APPROVED THE IDEA AND HE WISHED TO RETURN.
LEVINE WAS NON-COMMITTAL SINCE HE SAID IT WOULD DEPEND ON
[REDACTED]

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CAP'S NEW BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

16. LEVINE ADDED THAT HE COULD NOT POSSIBLY RUN CAP IF FIVE TO TEN OF HIS KEY MEN LEFT SINCE CAP WAS THE MOST COMPLEX SINGLE ENTERPRISE IN CHILE. HE ADDED THAT FOUR OF THESE KEY MEN HAD DEFINITELY DECIDED TO LEAVE BY NOV. 4TH AND SOME OTHERS MIGHT FOLLOW.

17. BOTH OSSA AND LEVINE LAMENTED IN THE STRONGEST MANNER THE STATEMENTS OF DUNGAN AND OF LINOWITZ AND THEIR TREMENDOUS IMPACT ON THE PDC IN PARTICULAR. LEVINE, LIKE OSSA, SAID THAT IF THE DEAL BETWEEN ALLENDE AND THE PDC IS SHORTLY ANNOUNCED AND IF THE ALLENDE CABINET INCLUDES THE KIND OF REASSURING NAMES WE ALL EXPECT, THEN BUSINESS WILL RETURN TO NORMALCY QUITE QUICKLY AND THE COMBINATION OF DEFEATISM AND ADAPTABILITY THAT IS TAKING HOLD WILL SMOOTH ALLENDE'S TASKS.

18. ALL OF WHICH IS TO SAY THAT THE ECONOMIC LEVER [REDACTED] IS THE LAST CARD; THERE ARE NO OTHERS UP MY SLEEVE OR ANYONE ELSE'S. AND IF THAT

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CARD IS TO BE PLAYED, IT MUST BE DONE WITH MAXIMUM EFFECT
SWIFTLY. THE DEPT CANNOT CONTINUE TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY EACH
DECISION SO THAT BY THE TIME IT IS TAKEN IT IS COMPLETELY
OUT OF TUNE WITH THE REALITIES HERE. THE DEPT COULD ALSO MAKE AN
ART OF WHAT IS A NATURAL FUNCTION IN WASHINGTON--THE LEAKAGE
OF NEWS WITHOUT ATTRIBUTION. WHAT PDC TECHNICIANS ARE
BEING TOLD BY THE U.P. ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES THEY WILL
FACE IN LEAVING CHILE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME BEING WOODED
AT CASTRO'S URGING, HOW THE U.P. IS PLANNING TO NATIONALIZE
ALL PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES [REDACTED] AND ALL BANKS
[REDACTED] HOW THE JAPANESE HAVE POSTPONED THEIR
CAP TEN-YEAR ORDER AND A HOST OF OTHER DETAILS WE HAVE BEEN
FURNISHING TO SHOW INSTABILITY AND COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER MUST
BE UTILIZED IN THE WORLD PRESS PROMPTLY. CERTAINLY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WOULD DELIGHT IN REPORTING THAT HERRERA IS SEEKING TO
GET LOANS THROUGH FOR THE COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
HERE AND TO GAIN RESPECTABILITY FOR ALLENDE SO HE CAN LEAVE HIS
PROBLEMS AT THE BANK AND GET A JOB IN THE ALLENDE GOVT.

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19. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY
THE DEPT HAS TAKEN NO ACTION WHATSOEVER IN EUROPE AND HE SPECIFICALLY
MENTIONED BONN, PARIS, LONDON, MADRID, THE LOW COUNTRIES.
HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH CHILE WAS MINOR LEAGUE COMPARED TO MIDEAST AND
OTHER PROBLEMS, THE STEADY EROSION OF U.S. POSITIONS WAS HAVING
THE MOST SERIOUS EFFECT ON OUR REAL FRIENDS. HE SAID IF WE DID NOT
SUPPLY LEADERSHIP, NO ONE ELSE WOULD [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

20. I RECOGNIZE THAT THE DEPT REGARDS ME AS "INCORRIGIBLE"
TO USE THE REMARKS ECHOED BACK HERE BY RECENT VISITORS TO OUR
CAPITAL SO I WILL SAY IT FOR THE LAST TIME: IF WE WANT TO
STOP ALLENDE WE HAVE TO BE FAR MORE SWIFT AND PURPOSEFUL THAN
THE DEPT HAS BEEN UNTIL NOW. IF WE CANNOT BE, THEN WE SHOULD

PAGE 14 SANTIAGO [REDACTED]

HAVE A CLEAR MESSAGE ON HOW TO FULFILL THE DEPT'S LONG HELD
GOAL OF GETTING ALONG WITH ALLENDE.

21. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]